

Coding Rules

Our data concern Congressional speeches about human rights. Our goal is to use these data to test hypotheses about efforts to place the human rights performance of particular non-U.S. states onto the national agenda. We begin with all statements in the *Congressional Record* that include the phrase "human rights." Obviously, not all speeches that bear on human rights issues will use this phrase, but a substantial sample of them will. In order to qualify for inclusion in our data the statement must also meet the following criteria:

1. **The statement must be attributed to a specific member of congress.** Uses of the phrase "human rights" in the agendas of congressional committees or the texts of proposed legislation read into the record by the Clerk of the House of Senate thus do not qualify. Statements made in newspaper editorials, reports, and the like are attributed to the member who inserted them into the record. Statements by non-voting delegates, such as the individual representing the District of Columbia, will be included.
2. **The statement must either comment on human rights conditions in another state, or propose action against another state because of human rights conditions.** Generalized references to human rights that are not targeted at any specific state are not included. For example, statements praising the human rights activism of a particular individual would not be included unless those statements were linked to a particular state. Similarly, uses of the phrase "human rights" in the context of a "human-rights official" or "the United Nations Human Rights Commission" might not be part of a comment on human rights conditions.
3. **The statement must pertain to current conditions in the target state.** Statements commemorating notable historical events, such as the Holocaust, are not included unless they are used to comment on current conditions.
4. **The statement about the target state must be at least two sentences long.** The two sentences must either be consecutive or occur within the same paragraph. This criterion is intended to exclude instances in which a state is mentioned only briefly as an example, or as part of a list of states that engage in a certain practice. A speaker may target more than one state in a single speech, but the speaker must comment on conditions in that state in a cluster of at least two sentences in order to qualify for inclusion in the dataset.

Within each statement that meets these criteria, the following information will be coded for each state targeted by the speaker.

Debate: This identifier will be the first page number in the segment of the *Congressional Record* containing the speech. In addition, a dummy variable **Extension** will be coded "1" if the statement appeared in the Extensions section of the *Congressional Record*, and "0" otherwise.

Item number: This is the item number as it appears in the search results for the month in which the speech was given.

Chamber

1. House of Representatives
2. Senate

Speaker: Name of the member of congress making the statement.

Number: ICPSR member number of individual making the statement. Non-voting members are coded as missing.

Month: Number of month in which statement was made. (Note: this is not always the same as the date the statement appeared in the *Congressional Record* for remarks in the "Extensions" section.)

Day: Numerical day of month in which statement was made. (Note: this is not always the same as the date the statement appeared in the *Congressional Record* for remarks in the "Extensions" section.)

Year: Year in which statement was made. (Note: this is not always the same as the date the statement appeared in the *Congressional Record* for remarks in the "Extensions" section.)

Target: Correlates of War state number of state whose human rights situation is discussed in the statement.

Attitude: Attitude of the speaker toward the target state *government's* human rights performance.

- 1. Speaker is critical of target state government
- 0. Speaker takes no position on the target state government's behavior, or praises some aspects of it while criticizing others
- 1. Speaker praises target state government

Sanctions: We have three variables indicating whether the speaker mentioned economic sanctions against the target state. Support for (or opposition to) sanctions may be inferred from the context of the speech under some circumstances. For example, speeches in favor of an amendment imposing sanctions will be coded as supporting sanctions even if the speaker does not explicitly call for them. The explicit content of the speech takes precedence over the context, however, so if an individual states his or her opposition to sanctions, but supports legislation that includes sanctions anyway, he or she will be coded as opposing sanctions. The implications of the legislation with respect to sanctions may also depend on the context. For example, if an amendment replaces relatively harsh sanctions with measures that can be waived by the executive, support for it may be coded as opposition to sanctions if it is clear in those involved in the debate believe that the amendment will have the effect of removing or avoiding actual sanctions.

Trade Sanctions: The speaker supports measures that limit or condition trade with the target state. Trade sanctions include trade embargoes, conditions or limitations on MFN status, prohibitions on trade with specific companies or industries, among other things. The variable is coded as follows:

- 1. Statement opposes the imposition or continuation of trade sanctions on the target state
- 0. Statement does not mention trade sanctions against the target state
- 1. Statement proposes imposing or continuing trade sanctions on the target state

Aid Sanctions: The speaker proposes eliminating, reducing, or conditioning aid to the target country. This includes aid given by multilateral organizations like the World Bank. Proposals to increase foreign aid as a way of improving human rights conditions are also coded in this variable.

- 1. Statement opposes the imposition of aid sanctions on the target state, or proposes an increase in aid.
- 0. Statement does not mention aid sanctions against the target state
- 1. Statement proposes imposing or continuing aid sanctions on the target state

Other economic sanctions: The speaker proposes an economic sanction other than aid or trade on the target state. These could include limits on American investment, and perhaps other measures. We will code this variable as follows. **For now, we will also note the nature of the other economic sanction in the notes column of the spreadsheet.**

- 1. Statement opposes the imposition or continuation of other economic sanctions on the target state
- 0. Statement does not mention other economic sanctions against the target state
- 1. Statement proposes imposing or continuing economic sanctions on the target state

Other measures: Speaker proposes measures other than economic sanctions against the target. These could include the severance of diplomatic relations, trade bans, revocations of invitations for officials to speak to the Congress, and the like.